NATIONAL REVIEW

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July 25, 1956

A WEEKLY JOURNAL OF OPINION

'Siberia, U.S.A.': The Rocky Road of H.R. 6376

PRISCILLA L. BUCKLEY

They've Got My Number

JOHN M. PHILLIPS

Wedding Gift for Arthur Miller

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

Articles and Reviews by · · · · · WILLMOORE KENDALL

F. A. VOIGT · C. DICKERMAN WILLIAMS · RUSSELL KIRK

JAMES BURNHAM · RICHARD M. WEAVER · ROBERT PHELPS

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from WASHINGTON *straight*

A NEWSLETTER

SAM M. JONES

The Fight for the Senate

At this time, the composition of the next House of Representatives is beyond the range of conjecture. The House usually goes with the Presidency. But notwithstanding his landslide victory, Mr. Eisenhower barely carried it in '52; and he lost it, despite a personal appeal, in '54.

The Senate is another matter. Issues and conditions within the respective states, and the personalities involved, are often more important than party labels. The election of Senators is frequently at variance with a state's vote for President. As in the case of the House, Mr. Eisenhower's big victory four years ago was not reflected in an overriding GOP majority in the Senate; nor did his plea for a Republican Senate in 1954 save that body from Democratic control.

Mr. Eisenhower's coattails have proved inadequate transportation for many would-be riders; a fact which the wiser Republican congressional candidates had discerned before the last biennial election. Many GOP hopefuls who were photographed with the President and who even received a verbal pat on the head went down in the dust; but Styles Bridges, who got nary a kind word from the White House, achieved the largest majority ever given a Senatorial candidate in New Hampshire.

On paper, and perhaps in fact, the Democrats have an advantage. But there are many imponderables. The last patch in a crazy-quilt campaign is the fact that despite the statistics and regardless of which candidate wins the Presidency, the Senate elections may defy the former and go contrary to the latter.

This year there happen to be 35 contests instead of 32, because of the death of Senator Kilgore of West Virginia and Senator Barkley of Kentucky, and the resignation of Senator Thurmond of South Carolina. (Mr. Thurmond, elected in 1954 by write-in votes to a term ending in 1961, is fulfilling his promise to the voters at that time to resign and run for his seat again in this year's election.) Seventeen of the seats at issue are now held by Republicans; eighteen by Democrats.

At least seven of the Republican seats are safe beyond a reasonable doubt. They are: Vermont, New Hampshire, Iowa, Kansas, South Dakota, North Dakota and Utah. Perhaps Wisconsin should be included, but Senator Wiley is in serious intra-party trouble and the picture is unlikely to be clarified before the August primaries.

On the Democratic side at least seven seats, and perhaps ten, are safe. In Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, North Carolina and South Carolina (two seats) there is no Republican opposition. In Arizona, a state moving toward a strong two-party system, Senator Hayden is an institution and his opposition will be negligible. The Republicans will attempt to unseat Monroney in Oklahoma and Smathers in Florida, but both incumbents have a great advantage.

Sixteen States "Doubtful"

The "doubtful states" are sixteen in number. The Democrats have the advantage numerically because they are on the defensive in only eight contests whereas there are ten in which the Republicans must fight to hold on.

As of this writing, GOP Senate seats in varying degrees of jeopardy are as follows: Bender of Ohio must face the formidable five-term Governor of his state, Frank Lausche, unless the latter through some unforeseeable circumstances gets the Democratic Presidential nomination. Senator Bush of Connecticut will be up against Representative Thomas J. Dodd, a redoubtable vote-getter. Butler of Maryland will be opposed by former Senator Millard Tydings who is aching for revenge. Claude Wickard will provide Senator Capehart with a robust contest in Indiana. Richard Stengel, former U.S. District Attorney and a member of the Illinois Assembly, is challenging Dirksen's bid for reelection. Philadelphia's former Mayor Joe Clark is expected to give Senator Duff a hard race. Senator Kuchel of California must dispose of State Senator Richard Richards, who made a surprising showing in the Democratic primary. Senator Millikin of Colorado, handicapped by long illness, will campaign from a wheel chair against Charles Brannan, Secretary of Agriculture in the Truman Administration. Glenn Taylor, one-time running-mate of Henry Wallace, is in hot pursuit of Herman Welker's place in the Senate. Strange as it may seem, the "singing cowboy" has substantial support in Idaho. Who will face whom in Wisconsin is yet to be determined, but the Democrats hope the fight on Wiley will improve their chances.

Republican Goals

The Republicans have their sights set on Nevada, Washington, Oregon, New York, Kentucky, Missouri and West Virginia. The bitterest fight of the year may well be between Douglas McKay and the Republican-turned-Democrat, Wayne Morse, in Oregon. Representative Clifton Young of Nevada promises tough competition for Democratic Senator Bible, who recently reversed his decision not to run. The contest between Governor Langlie of Washington and Senator Magnuson is expected to be close. Both are seasoned campaigners and good vote-getters. Governor Marland of West Virginia, running for the seat of the late Senator Kilgore, is faced with stiff Republican opposition plus charges of corruption in the state administration. The Republicans will make an all-out effort to unseat Senator Lehman in New York but the Republican Senatorial nominee has not been chosen to date.

In Kentucky, where the Democrats

(*Continued on p. 22*)

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The WEEK

● Within a week of Chou En-lai's sneering comment that America's friendship is worthless, Vice President Nixon arrived in Taipei. He brought personal greetings from President Eisenhower to Chiang Kai-shek, protestations that the United States is unwavering in its friendship for Nationalist China, and a promise that we will continue to oppose Communist China's admission to the United Nations. Local press reports state that Mr. Nixon's visit did much to restore faith in our China policy, and Mr. Nixon's statements will be kept on file for future reference.

● The government has filed an anti-trust suit against General Motors, alleging that it has conspired with certain large bus companies to monopolize the bus-manufacturing field. Among other things, the government asks that GM be enjoined from supplying more than 50 per cent of the buses bought by certain large companies. In behalf of doctrinaire objections against bigness, the government seems to be prepared to forbid a corporation to buy the product it chooses in the quantity it chooses.

● The Senate Rules Committee has approved a three-hundred-thousand-dollar appropriation to the Foreign Relations Committee for "exhaustive studies" of the entire concept and application of foreign aid. Chester Bowles, William Benton, Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., the *New York Times*, George Kennan, *et al.*, are sure to be heard from. Perhaps the three hundred thousand dollars will last long enough to enable the Committee to hear out a few critics of indiscriminate foreign aid.

● On July 1, the New York State Association of Electrical Workers took a full-page advertisement in metropolitan newspapers to protest pending legislation for government development of Niagara power (see the editorial, "Preventive Expropriation" on page 5). The union pointed out that private utility companies are ready to develop Niagara. Government intervention, it said, was unwarranted and would "violate the principles of free enterprise and free play." The advertisement read, in part: "We like free trade, we like the free enterprise system that has made America great and the life of the American working man the envy of the world. Our American

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system of getting things done makes sense—we want to retain it." It added: "Organized labor has, and is, reaching excellent agreement today with business managed electric utilities. We want to continue this way."

● Oregon Republicans are relying heavily for campaign ammunition against Wayne Morse on yesteryear's magazine articles by his fellow-Democrat, Senator Richard L. Neuberger. Morse, Neuberger once wrote, "has reduced to an exact science the technique of . . . [the] political double life; . . . no Paris roué ever dashed more expertly between the boudoir and the counting-house than does Wayne Morse between the dinners of the A.D.A. and the West Coast Lumbermen's Association."

● Soviet Foreign Minister Dmitri Shepilov told a press conference recently that tension between East and West is the result of "irresponsible warmongering" by the press of the United States. Mr. Shepilov, formerly editor of *Pravda,* advanced a simple solution. In behalf of a rapprochement between the U.S. and the USSR, he said, the American press should be, and we quote Mr. Shepilov, "muzzled."

● The Geneva talks between American Ambassador U. Alexis Johnson and Chinese Ambassador Wang Ping-nan entered their twelfth month July 11. Score: Eight of the 19 American civilians held in Chinese jails have been released. Assuming he maintains his present rate of accomplishment, Mr. Johnson will still be in Geneva talking away, a year from Christmas.

● The opposition Socialist Party in Japan and its leftist allies showed unexpected strength in the recent election. The Socialist gain in the Upper Chamber means that Premier Ichiro Hatoyama fails of the two-thirds majority he needs to revise the 1947 Japanese Constitution so as to permit Japanese rearmament. The Socialists, who won 37 per cent of the popular vote, are expected to increase their demands for a peace treaty with the Soviet Union and, pursuant thereto, an exchange of ambassadors.

● The Soviet announcement that Messrs. Bulganin, Khrushchev and Shepilov will visit Cambodia in the near future caps a year-long campaign to divorce Cambodia from the Western Alliance. "The hopes of all Cambodians rest in the USSR for the realization of our ideal of peace," said Cambodia's ex-king and present caudillo, Prince Norodom Sihanouk, as he extended the invitation on his recent trip to Moscow. Prince Norodom was once considered staunchly pro-Western. The importance of a "softened" Cambodia to international Communism is obvious: Cambodia lies between Free South Vietnam and Thailand.

● At an elegant reception for the Shah of Iran held in the Great Kremlin Palace, Marshal Kliment Y. Voroshilov for once came off second-best in an exchange of toasts. So long as Iranian territory is not "used to threaten [the USSR's] southern borders," he proclaimed, "the Soviet Union will leave Iran alone." The Shah, in whose country Russia played the man who came to dinner after World War Two, replied that measures for defense "have been dictated by needs of state on the basis of past experience."

● A faithful reader of the *Daily Worker* reports that the eerie sensation of Having Lived Through It All Before never hit him so hard as when he saw that, with the stretching of a smile on the Russian bear, the *Worker* has responded in exactly the same fashion as in 1935, when the doctrine of the United Front was established: by adding a sports page.

● The Ford Foundation has voted a million and a half dollars, to be distributed over the next five years, to the Foreign Policy Association. The record of the Association and that of some of its directors, notably Vera Micheles Dean (see NATIONAL REVIEW, April 11), is hardly such as to inspire confidence that the money will be fruitfully spent. The most one can hope for now is that some time before the five years have elapsed, Mr. Henry Ford will, as he did in the case of another of his creations, the Fund for the Republic, publicly bemoan the use to which his money is being put. The expense of educating Mr. Ford dizzies the imagination.

● Sign of the times: In the steel town of Gary, Indiana, travel offices report a booming business as thousands of strikers set out on vacations, both in the United States and abroad.

● Bureau of Internal Revenue lightning has struck, for the second time in six months, at the incumbent head waiter at the Waldorf-Astoria. The Bureau claims that Arthur Hagedorn, whose predecessor is doing time for failing to report all his take, owes an estimated $11,000. NATIONAL REVIEW's Waldorf-Astoria correspondent reports that the banquet department may soon set atop each table a printed card bearing the responsible waiter's name and the size tip appropriate to his income-tax bracket.

● The Fish and Wildlife Service plans to spread surplus grain along the routes flown by migrating wild ducks. This will simultaneously reduce the grain surplus and keep the ducks from preying on farmers' fields, thus increasing grain supplies which the government can buy at subsidized prices and feed to next year's migratory birds and keep them from preying on farmers' fields.

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Preventive Expropriation

Unless quick counter-pressures are brought to bear, Congress may complete action before the end of its current session on a $405 million surrender of natural resources to the insatiable appetite of bureaucratic government. This is the estimated cost of the Niagara Falls power plant that will generate more than a million and a half kilowatts of electrical energy. By a vote of 18-16 the House Public Works Committee approved a bill, already passed by the Senate, which turns the project over to a New York State Power Authority instead of to private industry.

The present bill, reversing a House decision of three years ago which authorized private companies to go ahead, is sponsored by Senator Herbert H. Lehman, senior prophet of Americans for Democratic Action. It is pushed by every variety of statist and hopefully accepted by those gullible citizens who have been persuaded that "public power" will lower the cost of electricity.

These citizens are deluded. The real costs will be determined as always by relative productive efficiency. This will inevitably be lower—and the cost therefore higher—under the weight of unchecked governmental control saddled with its pyramided bureaucratic structure. Because the state-owned plant, financed by tax-free bonds, would also be exempt from the normal property, excise and income taxes applicable to private companies, the true cost might not show up in the nominal kilowatt rate. It would none the less have to be met, if not by the direct consumers, then by the community at large—which would be paying a hidden and involuntary subsidy to maintain show-rates so that public-power demagogues could bolster their fraudulent economics.

Tongue-Tied

The total response of our government to the Poznan uprising has been: 1) a mild comment by the press officer of the State Department to the effect that Polish workers do not appear to be altogether satisfied with their present situation; 2) an offer by Mr. Harold Stassen, the President's Commissioner of Peace and Disarmament, to send free food—for distribution by the Polish Government—that is, the Government that shot down the workers.

Advocates of anti-Communist political warfare contend that we should be actively fostering the resistance movements within the Soviet sphere, and rendering them many forms of material aid. That view is, granted, controversial. But is it unteamlike to suggest that, confronted with one of the most dramatic developments of the decade, one might expect of our government a little better than that it should fall flat on its face?

Might not Mr. Lodge have complained to the Security Council—and to world public opinion—that the actions of the Polish Government, a member of the UN, were in gross violation of its obligations under the Charter? Couldn't Mr. Dulles have demanded that competent international observers be present at all forthcoming Poznan trials, with the right to interview the accused? Might it not have been suitable for Mr. Allen Dulles, our very voluble secret intelligence director, to point out how the Poznan events prove the phoniness of the new "liberal" line of the Kremlin? Would it not have been appropriate for the President himself to direct a few words to the Poznan workers (and to all the terrorized slaves of Communism) tending to show that we are at least morally united with them in their present and future struggles against their masters?

We suggest a brief meditation on the Poznan record for those who wonder why the United States has so hard a time holding old allies and winning new ones.

The Truth About NATO?

"The vigor is seeping out," it is "weakening perceptibly . . ." "The trend is down, not up." So, of all people, C. L. Sulzberger, on the current status of NATO; and as the eye drifts on down his July 2nd column from Paris one finds more of the same: The hope that NATO would be able to protect the bulk of its territory and population against initial conquest in case of war is "still a dream." France's contribution to NATO's forces is today "virtually worthless," and as for Western Germany's army, it "got lost in parliamentary corridors." Both the United States and England now "rely increasingly upon their own strategic air power," which means that their ground garrisons in Europe are "bound eventually to be reduced"—yet "If this happens NATO will totter." And how have things come to such a pass? "The Kremlin has succeeded brilliantly in creating a new climate. Latent divergencies within the free democracies have been encouraged. Their will to build defensive strength is ebbing."

All this, mark you, from the chief European correspondent of the chief newspaper prop of the Truman-Eisenhower foreign policy, and at a moment when not a word has come out of Washington expressing doubt as to the health or utility of NATO. Mr. Sulzberger himself made the point: "Our statesmen offer the population of the West the platitudes of linguistic ritual . . . They tell us we have never been so strong, safe or determined."

What does it all mean? Has Mr. Sulzberger suddenly turned up some data on NATO that had not been

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available to him before? Is the *Times,* having recognized that NATO is a failure, preparing to withdraw its support from Mr. Eisenhower's NATO-based foreign policy? The point of the article turns out to be merely that if all "these disturbing facts are not faced squarely, it may be too late for salvage," and that a "wise man's committee is studying how to revivify the coalition." And since, predictably, what the committee will discover is that the answer lies in increased foreign aid, it all turns out to mean merely this: such is the eagerness in certain quarters to strengthen the Liberal line on foreign aid that it even extends—in a pinch—to telling the truth about NATO and drawing attention to the Administration's failure to do so.

What Next?

Even in spite of the President's announcement that he would run (a decision for which his opponents had steeled themselves and which they were fatalistically awaiting), the Democrats had a marvelous time last week; and let's face it, they deserved to.

Mostly, it was the Rodin affair. Abandoning futile efforts to suppress the controversy, the director of the arrangements committee for the Republican Convention admitted that the cover design (reproduced opposite) that had been selected for the Convention's program had become the Party's leading issue.

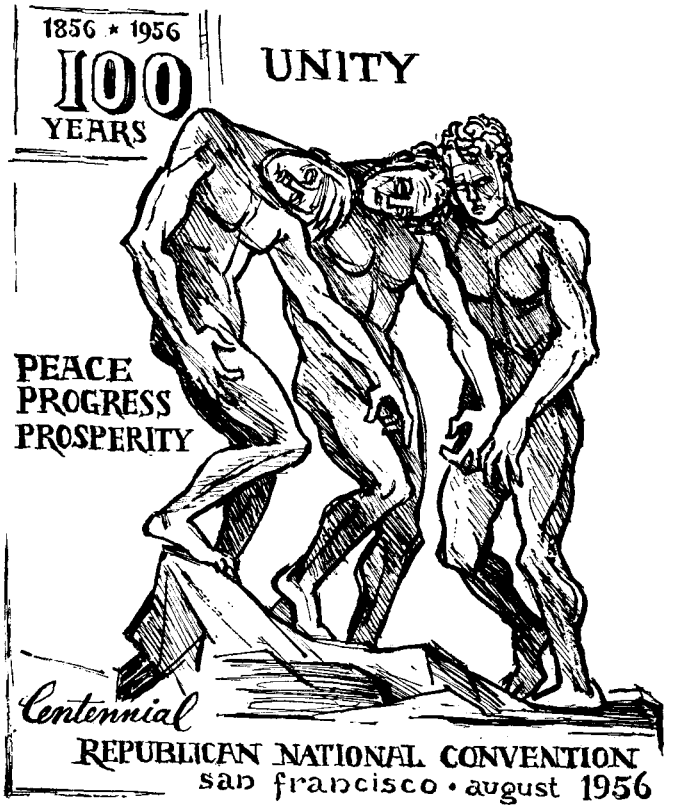
A number of San Francisco matrons had spotted advance copies of the program and noticed that Auguste Rodin had, incredibly, forgotten to clothe the figures in his statue, "*Trois Ombres.*" That alone was disqualifying. Then San Francisco's mayor noticed another imperfection in Rodin's sculpture. "They look," he said, "like they've been kicked." A third comment, by an official on the arrangements committee, was that the figures looked "dejected."

Quickly the Republicans caucused, and took dynamic action. The design was scrapped. In place of it will appear a picture of President Eisenhower—fully clothed, unkicked, and undejected. In the future, belletristic efforts by Republican officials will be discouraged.

A few days after the banishment of Rodin, Republican spokesmen disclosed the electioneering techniques, slogans, and devices on which, in the next months, they will lean so heavily. In Madison Square Garden the National Citizens Committee for Eisenhower demonstrated what it described as "simultaneous inflation of sixteen forty-foot 'Ike' barrage balloons and the ascension . . . of 'Old Number Seven,' the President's veteran balloon, with 'Ike Girls,' in their costumes [ampler, we assume, than Rodin's] and parasols, manning the cables."

The Committee also announced the "introduction and operation of an official Eisenhower thirty-ton bandwagon," and displayed its contents and equipment which included "one million Eisenhower campaign buttons, a portable reverse projection motion-picture theater, barrage balloons, thousands of cubic feet of helium [that's to float 'Old Number Seven' with], specially equipped Eisenhower jeep and ranch-wagon searchlights and generators . . . 'Bikes for Ike,' . . . and many other campaign devices."

No one would be more resentful than NATIONAL REVIEW of any effort to drain the fun out of politics, that being, we feel, one of its major justifications. But the evidence is by now unmistakable that the campaign is this year being designed to proceed on a level of vulgarity seldom before witnessed, and someone in the White House entourage, even at the risk of suffering the especially sharp slings and arrows reserved for the party-poop, should step in, puncture the damned balloon, and remind the braintrusters that



a President, not a package of corn flakes, is for sale in November, that the world is in crisis, that there are matters of high seriousness to be discussed. Mr. Eisenhower is no more the favorite this year than Thomas Dewey was in 1948, during which time the most analytical campaign statement he made, as far as we can remember, was, "Ladies and gentlemen, the future lies before us."

Indeed it does. And that future is uncertain, and Republican braintrusters had better come to grips with something more substantial than helium.

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Blacklisting of Communists

Newspapers throughout the country took one look at a *Report on Blacklisting* produced under Fund for the Republic auspices, and drew the conclusion the Fund had intended them to draw: The entertainment world boycotts (unfairly) artists it regards as pro-Communist.

Some interesting things have happened since: When the *World Telegram's* Frederick Woltman charged that the Report includes two false allegations against him, the Fund wired him that it cannot vouch for the document's accuracy, only for the integrity of its author. The *New York Times'* Columnist Jack Gould conceded that the report uses "too much undocumented and anonymous material." And in the *Brooklyn Tablet* Godfrey Schmidt, President of AWARE, accused the author of the Report (Mr. John Cogley, a former executive editor of *Commonweal*) of doing "exactly what he excoriates—but with a reverse-spin"—of proceeding on the odd premise that only the government (though not through the use of secret informers) can identify and condemn Communists and pro-Communists, while *anybody*, *i.e.*, employees of the Fund for the Republic, is entitled to expose objectionable anti-Communists (through the use of secret informers). Worse still, Mr. Schmidt points out, it neither states nor defends that premise.

In the meantime, the House Committee on Un-American Activities has begun to look into the schemes and intimacies that seem to have surrounded Mr. Cogley's Report. The first witnesses have, to put it mildly, shattered the Liberal claim that the Fund for the Republic spends its money on research: More research goes into a hurriedly produced newspaper story than seems to have gone into Mr. Cogley's leisurely job. One witness after another disclosed how sloppy and irresponsible our certified "sociologists" can be if Foundations are willing to finance a smear.

Born of a Climate

The recently-released report on the federal loyalty-security program by a Special Committee of the Association of the Bar of New York City appears to drive straight down the middle-of-the-road—and thus to give scant comfort to the travelers on either side.

The main points to notice are these: The report takes sharp issue with those who want no internal security program at all—who in effect deny the necessity of such a program by insisting on so-called safeguards which, predictably, would draw its teeth. It speaks of abolishing the Attorney General's list, but then agrees to its retention in a modified form with which we, at least, have no particular quarrel. It demands "common-sense" determinations based on "national security" in lieu of determinations based on rigid loyalty-security standards. It seeks to remove the burden of proof in security cases from the individual, though without actually proposing that the burden rest with the government. It recommends that only persons in "sensitive" positions be included in the program, and asks for certain minor and innocuous modifications with respect to procedure. It makes, then, some concessions to the program's critics. However, the failure of the Report to indict procedures so often denounced as being based on "guilt by association" supports the views of those who have insisted, ever since 1946, that the concept on which the loyalty program rests is both sound and necessary.

One inarticulate premise of the report is that the loyalty-security program is, after all, a peace-time program—that is, that we are not now at war. The Committee can, therefore, tranquilly recommend that persons in "insensitive" jobs be left out of the program, and that the Port Security Program be abolished altogether. The premise, however, is false; and the report, having been conceived in an unreal climate of opinion, cannot now that it is born transcend the limitations of that climate. For that, however, the nation's opinion leaders, not the members of the Committee, are to blame.

NATIONAL REVIEW takes pleasure in announcing that Miss Priscilla L. Buckley, formerly with the United Press in Paris, has joined the staff of the magazine as an "associate and contributor."

A Correction: In the article, "Spain in the U.S. Balance Sheet," by J. Dervin (NATIONAL REVIEW, June 13) there appears a reference to the Spanish "mechanical industry, the automobile industry in particular" as "largely controlled by foreign interests." This was an unfortunate mistranslation from the original text, and should have read, "largely dependent on foreign imports."

NATIONAL REVIEW had intended to close down for two weeks during the summer, following the practice of a number of other national magazines, designed to make possible simultaneous vacations for the entire staff. However, as this is a Presidential election year, the summer is less sleepy than most, and we shall, under the circumstances, shut down for only one week: the issue of August 8 will not appear. Next year, however, and in succeeding years (excepting Presidential election years), we will definitely close down for two weeks, in August. Since we did not announce our decision to publish only 51 issues this year at the time subscriptions were solicited, present subscriptions will be extended by one week.

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The THIRD WORLD WAR

JAMES BURNHAM

Down Stalin, Up Lenin, ? ? Trotsky

Whom the gods would destroy, they first make optimists. Such, at any rate, might seem to be the rule covering the response of the Liberal West to the new strategic turn of Bolshevik Moscow. No one is quite sure just what the turn means. But whatever it is, it is a good thing — i.e., good from the Western standpoint. It loosens, liberalizes, demilitarizes the Soviet regime, lessens the danger of war, promotes East-West exchanges . . .

Liberals are always optimistic about change. Change is ipso facto improvement, progress; any given change is always for the better. The optimism about the Kremlin's current change is a mere deduction from the ideological axiom. The Khrushchev-Bulganin anti-Stalin line *must* be a good thing *because* it is a change.

If Lenin Comes . . .

At all stages of the new turn, the "collective leadership" has stressed Leninist orthodoxy. The speech at the 20th Congress which launched the anti-Stalin drive was delivered by Mikoyan, who ended:

"How great would be Lenin's joy if now, after 32 years, he would be able to see . . . that we not only swear by Lenin's name but are exerting our efforts to put into practice Lenin's ideas and are reverently fulfilling his behests."

Malenkov spoke of the "party unity founded on Lenin's principles." Bulganin glorified "the great founder of our party and the Soviet State, V.I. Lenin." Kaganovich appealed to the "scientific forecast of that genius of humanity, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin." Khrushchev invoked Lenin in the final paragraph of his culminating speech, and Tito used the same formula as he clinched his reunion in Moscow.

The critique of Stalin is thus inseparable from the reaffirmation of Lenin and Leninism.

Our official optimists neglect the fact that Lenin differed from Stalin in being more, not less, revolutionary; more, not less, oriented on world as against local revolution, more intransigent toward "imperialism" and "class enemies." Stalin's occasional deviations from Lenin were invariably to the Right, to the less radical view. The bloodiest statements to be found in Stalin's works are quotations from Lenin.

Pravda has just retold the story of Stalin's famous conflict with Lenin in 1917, shortly after the overthrow of the Czar. While Lenin was still outside Russia, Stalin as editor of *Pravda* was supporting the government based on the Duma (parliament). Stalin justified this policy by the "classical" theory that Russian conditions permitted only a "bourgeois democratic" revolution which had to run its course before a proletarian revolution would be possible. Lenin's first political act on arriving in Petrograd was to publish his "April theses" attacking Stalin's position as appeasement, and calling for immediate steps toward a proletarian revolution under Bolshevik leadership.

Lenin did not disguise his principles:

"The liberation of the oppressed class is impossible, not only without a violent revolution, but also without the destruction of the apparatus of state power."

"The bourgeois state [can] be superseded by the proletarian state . . . only by means of a violent revolution."

"We have never rejected terror on principle, nor can we do so."

"The existence of the Soviet Republic side by side with imperialist states for a long time is unthinkable. One or the other must triumph in the end. And before that end supervenes, a series of frightful collisions between the Soviet Republic and the bourgeois states will be inevitable."

The downgrading of Stalin plus the reaffirmation of Lenin raise the question whether a third act will complete Moscow's new dialectical triad: the renascence of Trotsky.

Can Trotsky Be Far Behind?

Trotsky — tribune of the revolution, founder of the Red Army, prophet of world Communism — was Stalin's supreme antagonist. The same motion that lowers Stalin's relative level, raises Trotsky's. There is a jagged hole in the history of the revolution so long as Trotsky's name is not replaced. The mortal sin in the Bolshevik canon for which Stalin is being punished is the use of terror against Party comrades. Trotsky is the most famous target and victim of Stalin's anti-Party terror.

The foreign parties, led by Togliatti, have demanded a "Marxist explanation" of Stalin's errors and "one-man rule." The response of *Pravda* (July 2) is in substance the analysis that Trotsky made in the '30's: Stalin's bureaucratic despotism was an effect of a) the backwardness of Russia, and b) the "hostile environment" in which the young revolution found itself encircled.

Several of Trotsky's colleagues have been posthumously unpurged. It is rumored that Natalia Sedova, Trotsky's widow, has been approached by Soviet representatives, in spite of her public attacks on the new regime. "Trotskyites" are still being referred to as a harmful faction, but no longer as "enemies of the people," "wreckers" and "imperialist agents." In this country, the *Daily Worker* has publicly regretted the Party's failure to defend the American Trotskyites indicted under the Smith Act.

The political logic points toward the reintegration of Trotsky (and of the living Trotskyites also, it should be noted). Bolshevism normally carries political logic through to its final conclusion. In this case, Moscow will not be able to display the perfect external symbol: Trotsky's mummified body lying in the mausoleum of the Red Square, which would then enshrine the complete Lenin-Trotsky-Stalin triad, the Three Who Made a Revolution. This cannot be because his unimaginative followers had his corpse cremated, after his assassination by his former and future comrade.

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'Siberia, U.S.A.': The Rocky Road of H.R. 6376

Did Congress really plan to "get" you? The notorious Alaskan Mental Health Bill is here-with weighed — and found harmless

PRISCILLA L. BUCKLEY

On January 18, 1956, a bored House of Representatives struggled to its collective feet and by unanimous voice vote approved H.R. 6376. This obscure Territorial Bill proposed to transfer from the federal government to the Territory of Alaska the responsibility for the care of Alaska's mentally ill. The Congressmen were blissfully unaware that they were touching off the biggest panic since Orson Welles landed his Martian invaders almost twenty years ago.

Within two months, an anticipatory ripple of terror was running down spines all over the United States: The word passed that H.R. 6376 was, in fact, a cover for an infamous scheme to establish a political concentration camp—area 1,562 square miles—in the frozen arctic wastes of Alaska. Alarmist leaflets and pamphlets were passed around from hand to hand warning patriots of the grisly future in store for them if they continued to be politically obnoxious on the local level. If you were anti-United Nations or anti-UNESCO (the whisper went), in favor of the Bricker Amendment or against fluoridation; if you spoke out too loudly for Christian principles at a PTA meeting, or refused to subscribe to Bertrand Russell's philoscphy, "they" would get you. "They" would arrest you — preferably in the middle of the night — find you "guilty" of mental illness and hustle you off to Alaska, far from family and friends. You would end your days, an inmate of "Siberia, U.S.A." — by which name H.R. 6376 was soon to be known throughout hundreds of communities.

H.R. 6376 (The Alaskan Mental Health Bill) cleared the House at a moment when the words "mental health" had come to raise hackles among certain Americans alarmed over the exorbitant pretensions of modern psychiatry, the data on the growth of mental illness in twentieth-century America and the concomitant extension of local and federal mental health programs. By January 1956, thousands of Americans believed that a program of national brainwashing was under way. And to prove that it could happen here, and that it had happened here, they pointed to Lucille Miller of Vermont, and the Finn twins of California.

Mrs. Lucille Miller, a housewife who challenges the constitutionality of the peacetime conscription, had urged young men not to respond to their draft calls. In due course, she was indicted for violating a section of the Selective Service Act. But instead of allowing Mrs. Miller to stand trial, as she desired, a federal judge invoked a provision of the federal code that a person must be mentally competent to understand the charges against him. He ordered Mrs. Miller confined in St. Elizabeths, a federal mental institution in Washington, D.C. (On these same grounds, the poet Ezra Pound has been held in St. Elizabeths for the past ten years.)

Mr. Westbrook Pegler and a few others were aroused by the case and succeeded in effecting her release some weeks later. But the question continues to be debated: did a federal judge unwarrantedly confine a political dissenter to an insane asylum?

The Finn twins, Charles and George, claiming that the government had illegally seized a surplus plane they owned, executed a "citizen's arrest" on a U.S. Attorney in Los Angeles. They were indicted for interfering with an official in the pursuit of his duty (the Finns claimed the U.S. Attorney was in pursuit of his lunch, not his duty, when they snapped handcuffs on him), and sentenced to a year in jail.

But instead, upon recommendation of the judge, and without psychiatric examination, the Finns were sent to a federal insane asylum in Springfield, Missouri, and there confined in a ward for the criminally insane. It was only after a 35-day hunger strike and the intervention of Senator Langer that the Finns were released.

Avalanche of Protest

These two cases and a spate of state mental health bills which appeared to place excessive powers in the hands of appointed state officials, have further exacerbated public opinion. New York and Connecticut, for instance, within the past twelve months have enacted laws which permit, among other innovations, the transfer of mental patients from one state to another. In the 1955 session of the California State Legislature, no fewer than 44 mental health bills had been introduced. One of them, Assembly Bill 3330, considered "sinister" by many Californians, had been fought and defeated by a hard-working band of dedicated housewives, conspicuous among them Mrs. Stephanie Williams of Burbank and Mrs. Leigh F. Burkeland of Van Nuys.

Mrs. Burkeland is credited with coining the appellation "Siberia, U.S.A." In a matter of weeks, it had swept the nation. Two newsletters of national reputation, one national medical association, scores of small patriotic committees (and the usual smattering of eccentrics with particular religious and racial axes to grind) had picked up the arctic-concentration-camp picture of H.R. 6376 by mid-February.

The objection of some groups — a

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minority — was reasoned (the Tarrant County Medical Society of Fort Worth urged revision of certain clauses). The criticism of some others was more passionate. ("Could not this U.S.A. Siberia become . . . a prison for those cases where the medicine of Bertrand Russell DIDN'T TAKE, and where if the criticism of the 'powers that be' continued . . . Well . . . it's only a hop and a skip across to our Soviet ally, who, having demonstrated their ability along such lines, no doubt would be happy to finish them off." Thus, *The Guardian of Our Heritage.)*

Congress was bombarded by pretty frantic mail. Some officials have said the volume of mail protesting the Alaskan Mental Health Bill was greater than that pertaining to any proposed legislation since Lend-Lease. Senatorial assistants by the dozens knocked on the door of the Senate Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, where H.R. 6376 now rested awaiting action, to ask what was going on. Was it conceivable, as so many constituents seemed to think, that H.R. 6376 would open the way for wholesale deportations of Americans to the frozen north?

The Facts

And this is what they found.

H.R. 6376 had been sponsored by Representative Edith Green of Oregon. Its purpose was to turn over to Alaska the responsibility for the care of its own insane; to provide funds for the building of the necessary mental hospitals and clinics; and to modernize commitment and hospitalization procedures.

Alaska today has no mental hospitals. The 345 mental patients of the territory are cared for at the Morningside Hospital in Portland, Oregon, a private mental institution which is under lease to the Department of the Interior. Congress charged the Interior Department with responsibility for the care of Alaska's insane in 1905, and the Alaskan Legislature at that time was denied the authority to amend or repeal any commitment measures then in practice.

These procedures are very much out of date in the light of modern psychiatry. For instance, to start commitment procedures rolling in Alaska today — July 1956 — all one need do is sign a declaration attesting to the insanity of another person. The nearest U.S. Marshal is then compelled by law to detain the accused person who is thereupon lodged in a common jail until a jury of "six adult males" — by tradition, the first six men to call at the post office — is impaneled to pronounce on his sanity. There is no provision for medical examination of the victim. If he is found insane (guilty), he is returned to jail until a marshal can make the trip with him to Portland. These practices, and others—some of them barbaric—H.R. 6376 sought to rectify. On this score, there was little debate.

What drew fire were the provisions for financing the new Alaskan mental hospitals and the detailed program for modernizing commitment procedures.

The care of the mentally ill of Alaska now costs the United States $900,000 a year. Under H.R. 6376, the government would give Alaska $12.5 million over a ten-year period with which to establish a mental health program and to build whatever mental hospitals and clinics it needs—that equals roughly what would be spent in fifteen years under the present arrangements. In addition, the federal government would turn over to Alaska one million acres of federally owned land. Proceeds from the sale, lease or development of the land would be allocated for the mental health program at the discretion of the Territorial Legislature.

This was the provision which set innumerable mimeograph machines throughout the land in motion. One million acres is 1,562 square miles, half again the size of the State of Rhode Island, Mrs. Burkeland pointed out in "Siberia, U.S.A."; adding that *"you can see the possible number of buildings and persons one million acres or 1,562 square miles could contain."* Or, as Mrs. Ernest Howard later told the Senate Subcommittee, "we think that a million acres is just a bit too large for them [the 345 mental patients] to roam — assuming they are allowed to go out on the grounds."

This method of financing (the bill's defenders incidentally point out that land grants date from the Continental Congress in 1787) was chosen above others with the intention of broadening the tax base in Alaska. The federal government now owns 99 per cent of Alaska's 375 million acres; when one million acres has been transferred to the Territory, the federal government will still own approximately 99 per cent of the land.

The technical sections of the bill—stipulating the commitment, hospitalization and release procedures for patients — came under even heavier fire. H.R. 6376 defines a mentally ill person as "an individual having psychiatric or other mental disease which substantially impairs his mental health . . ." Such a definition, said Mrs. Burkeland, could rope in persons suffering from "dandruff, headaches, toothaches and fallen arches."

But the Green Bill specifically stated that for commitment a person must be a) mentally ill *and* b) dangerous either to himself or others, or urgently in need of treatment. In other words, a woman in Alaska who believed herself to be Cleopatra could *not* be confined under the Alaska Mental Health Bill — unless she went around threatening to commit violence upon anyone who did *not* believe she was Cleopatra.

Other commitment practices, while in line with current psychiatric thought, were vulnerable from a libertarian viewpoint. Sometimes they seemed to emphasize a patient's normality at the expense of his legal and constitutional rights to abnormality. But on the whole the commitment procedures in H.R. 6376 were approved by the American Medical Association which certified them as "on a par with the better procedures [that have been] adopted by the several states."

When it came to discussing Section 119 — and particularly subparagraph (c) — pamphleteers all over the nation despaired. This, they said, would permit the government to dispatch a citizen of any state to an Alaskan mental institution — or worse.

This allegation must have come as something of a shock to the authors of the bill. Section 119 was intended to authorize the Governor of Alaska to enter into reciprocal agreements with the Governors of the states in matters pertaining to mental health. If a resident of, say, Oklahoma became mentally ill while in Alaska, he could, under these reciprocal agreements, receive temporary care and treatment in Alaska — provided a resident of Alaska who became mentally ill in Oklahoma were entitled to corresponding treatment. Section 119 es-

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tablished machinery for the return to Oklahoma from Alaska of the Oklahoma resident who had become ill in Alaska, if the transfer did not jeopardize his health. But, if in the opinion of medical men, he should *not* be moved, Section 119 (c) provided that Alaska — or, in the case of an Alaskan, Oklahoma — be reimbursed for his care. The section read:

> The governor is hereby further authorized to enter into reciprocal agreements with any state providing for the care and treatment of the mentally ill residents of Alaska by such state; and for the care and treatment of mentally ill residents of such state by Alaska, each on a reimbursable basis.

Although this was, perhaps, loosely worded, there is nothing here which could be construed as authorizing the Governor of Oklahoma (or the Governor of any other state) to send a citizen of his state to Alaska for mental treatment.

Finally, opponents of the Green Bill asked why a proposed section that imposed criminal penalties on anyone wilfully conspiring to commit another individual to a mental institution had been deleted in Committee. Wasn't such a provision necessary against skulduggery?

Pyrotechnical Hearings

When Chairman Henry Jackson of the Senate Subcommittee on Territories and Insular Affairs called the Committee to order on February 20 — just 26 days after Mrs. Burkeland's opening blast — it was apparent to one and all that the open hearings on H.R. 6376 would be pyrotechnical.

Witnesses solemnly informed the Senators that H.R. 6376 was, variously, an internationalist plot; a Communist plot; a Catholic plot; a Jewish plot; a plot against the Constitution; in short, The Nightmare Come True.

Mrs. Burkeland and Mrs. Stephanie Williams saw in H.R. 6376 an Internationalist scheme for thought control, partially backed by Ford Foundation money. They pointed out that at the World Federation of Mental Health Conference, in 1948, it had been stated that "principles of mental health cannot be successfully introduced in any society unless there is progressive *acceptance* of the concept of world citizenship"; ergo, they contended, clearly any one who is *opposed* to the United Nations, or UNESCO, or world citizenship, is mentally ill. Mrs. Burkeland pointed out that Dr. Winfred Overholser, Superintendent of St. Elizabeths Hospital in Washington was a member of the World Federation of Mental Health and that he had been instrumental in drawing up the draft bill on hospitalization of the mentally ill which had served as a model for H.R. 6376. What more proof was needed? she asked.

Mrs. Williams believed it was not only an Internationalist, but a Soviet scheme. "There is nothing to prevent Russia from buying a whole million acres or renting it or leasing it. You remember she has always maintained that Alaska belonged to her and that it is *very near*." John Kasper, of Merchantville, New Jersey, identified Alaska as "the furtherest reach of the country" and saw in H.R. 6376 a Jewish plot: "almost 100 per cent of all psychiatric therapy is Jewish and . . . about 80 per cent of the psychiatrists are Jewish." To Brigadier General Herbert C. Holdridge, one-time Vice-Presidential candidate on the Prohibition ticket, H.R. 6376 smacked of Romanism. ("The plot of wickedness revealed in this bill fairly reeks of the evil odor of the black forces of the Jesuits who dominate the Vatican and, through its affiliates in our government, dominate our policies.")

It was at the third day's hearings that Senator Barry Goldwater came up with the suggestion that eventually assured passage of the bill. He did to H.R. 6376 what Alexander did to the Gordian knot — he put it to the sword.

Why not, said the Senator, just do *without* Title I of the Green Bill? If we are going to turn over to Alaska responsibility for the care of its mental cases, then wouldn't it be more logical to allow the people of Alaska to draw up their own mental health legislation, just as the 48 states do?

The Goldwater Amendment was adopted by the full Senate Committee on May 14. On June 7, the Senate passed the shorn H.R. 6376 by unanimous vote (always a prudent political precaution). And on July 2, the House-Senate conferees agreed on the Senate version. Its enactment is ensured.

The fantastic swath H.R. 6376 cut from its submission in the House to its enactment points up a serious flaw in our system of government. There arises, much too often, a cleavage between The People's Representatives in Congress and The People. If the provisions of H.R. 6376 — particularly the million-acre land grant — had been properly explained; and if there had been better communication between Washington and the dedicated individuals who take upon themselves the guardianship of our freedom, then "Siberia, U.S.A." might never have become a scare word. Even so, the publicity which these focused on H.R. 6376 did bring about a much better piece of legislation.

Provisional *nolo contendere*: if the writer of this article, a political nonconformist, spends the evening of her life in the frozen steppes of Siberia, may God help her. For Mrs. Burkeland and her friends, she is afraid, will not—and should not.

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They've Got My Number

The Big-Brother-knows-best theory behind compulsory social security, contends a New York newspaperman, violates the principle of individual liberty

JOHN M. PHILLIPS

I am a card-carrying contributor to the Social Security system. I have been ever since I was about eighteen when an employer told me that he could not take me on unless, first, I went to the government and got numbered. So I went over to the Social Security Administration and told them the difficulty I had run into, and they told me that the government sympathized with my problem — indeed, with *all* my problems—and that they would fix it up so that I might put aside part of every paycheck without the inconvenience of having to think it through for myself.

I stood at a post-office-type table and used a post-office-type pen and wrote a short but hilariously funny history of my life. I told them that I was born on December 4, 1927, that I had black hair and brown eyes and that I had nothing to fear but fear itself. Through it all I had a strange feeling that this was a test I couldn't possibly flunk and that I would have been taken on if I had put down that I weighed seventy-two pounds and intended to try to make my living as a burglar.

The man in the cage seemed glad to have me aboard. He gave me a little card with a long, marvelously hyphenated number on it. I was very proud of that number because it made it possible for me to go out and get a job.

Since then, every week there has been missing from my check (which is not so outrageously large that it staggers the human imagination), and sent to Washington (where it is added to an amount that *is* so large that it staggers the human imagination), a deduction of about $1.35.

When I am sixty, or sixty-five, or something, and am no longer in demand at the cocoa works, the whole process will be reversed and *I* will be getting little deductions from the federal government's dividend checks, provided that I do not earn an amount greater than that decreed by those who are deciding what's best for me at the time.

On the whole—and aside from the fact that the plan is apparently inspired by the government's entire lack of confidence in my ability to look out for my own future — this is perhaps not too bad an arrangement.

"Leave It to Us"

The thing I have doubts about is the fact that no one ever asked me how *I* feel about the setup. I am, after all, a pretty major party to it, and I don't see why I was not called on for advice and counsel on what the government plans to do with my money for me.

This just calling me in and saying, "Now see here, Phillips, we're looking after your future, and we require that you take our brand of old-age insurance so you'll have something to go on when you become a doddering old jackass. There is a small weekly payment, of course, that will come right out of your paycheck so that it will never have to go through your fool hands. Leave it to us and drop around when you're sixty-five, if you make it . . ."

That's what bothers me. It seems somehow highhanded.

Some of us would rather earn our own money and spend it as we see fit, foolishly or wisely as our lights determine. I cannot recall having been asked whether I wanted to be socially secure. Someone has just gone ahead and secured me. Is there any reason why, by the same democratic process, the limits of my self-determination may not be further circumscribed?

Would I rather be a bit regulated now and eat when I am old? Or free now and hungry later? I answer that I want to be both, free and fed, and I think I have the intelligence to manage it in a free society.

"Perhaps you have the intelligence," answers the government, "but except for Social Security, thousands of people, maybe millions, would waste their substance on riotous living and wind up on the public dole without having contributed a dime. You are asking the right to be a ward of the state. Your kind of freedom is impractical."

My kind of freedom is impractical only if freedom itself is impractical.

Freedom is not a method but a condition. As such, it has permitted private methods that have brought Americans a considerable degree of prosperity and economic justice. I, for one, would rather some should subsist on public gratuities than that all be made conformable merely to avoid that unhappy consequence.

Do I want to repeal Social Security? No. I want rather to safeguard against the abuse of the premise on which *compulsory* participation stands.

In so far as Social Security deductions are involuntary, they represent a moderate but obvious tyranny of the majority. In themselves, they are certainly not inordinately strenuous. They do, however, set a philosophical precedent — hardly distinguishable from Marxism — that could be used to justify a more serious irruption by society into areas now reserved to the individual. To the victim of compulsion it is purely academic that the source of compulsion is democratic. Bonds do not bind the less for having been attached by a kindly warder.

Americans have perhaps yet to understand that a free society is founded on immutable principles and not on the transient will of the majority. It is less important in our Republic that the will of the majority be done than that the majority submit its will to the principles of our incorporation.

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Once Social Security has been pronounced good for you, and has been visited upon you, there is nothing but the wisdom of the majority (which cannot be counted upon in times of demagogic excitation) to prevent the machinery of democracy from creating tyrannies. The philosophical groundwork has been laid.

The protection of the principle of the individual's right to administer his own life, and income, far transcends in importance the question of the workability of the Social Security law, or even of its necessity. As it now stands, the law is a limited denial of that principle. As such it is an invitation to further and far more severe denials in the name of social progress.

Everything the body politic does in an orderly Republic may at some later time be cited in defense of other acts having their bases in the same conceit. The Social Security law incorporates into our way of life the concept that the government may usurp the management of part of a citizen's income — apart from taxes — if only it is acting for what it conceives to be his own good.

Escape Hatch

The corrective task would seem to be to devise legislation by which the social value of the system may be preserved while the threat that it implies to the principle of individual freedom is eliminated. And this, perhaps, could most easily be accomplished by a legislative restatement that would make participation in Social Security coverage voluntary — or rather, *not involuntary*. It would seem that only one who values the mandatory provisions of the law for their own sake could object to a revision that would retain the good of it while doing away with compulsory participation.

The publication of a new form — say, DA AGO 991-.0365772, providing for the Calculated, Intentional, Aware-of-all-its-implications-to-my-future-welfare Withdrawal from Social Security—might do it.

An escape hatch for boobies? Certainly. Not one fool in fifty would use it. I, very likely, would not. But I would like to know that it is *there*, for my use, and that I *may* withdraw if, for devious and stupid reasons of my very own, I should wish to.

There is scant hope, I recognize, of getting this revision through Congress. But this does not dissuade me from the belief that it would be sounder democratic procedure than the present practice.

A final word: In the foregoing paragraphs I have avoided the question of the law's economic practicality. But it would seem unwise to let the occasion pass without at least nodding in the direction of economic morality — that species of honor, practiced by men and corporations, which keeps them from bankruptcy, or arraignment; but an honor that is avoided by the federal government as though it were a plague.

In their infinite mercy, the apologists of the Liberal conformity have defended the law with an emotionalism designed to put it beyond the reach of reasoned debate: it is compassionate, they argue, therefore it is practical. This, of course, is wonderful nonsense — the sort of thing one expects to find in the works of Anatole France.

Social Security as it now stands is not properly a form of old-age insurance. Money "contributed" is not invested for gain, nor is it set aside. The government spends it, here and now.

A dollar spent, any school child knows, is not in any sense a dollar saved. If the government spends the proceeds from Social Security deductions today, there is only the general treasury from which payments can come tomorrow. Future payments will be made out of future *tax* income.

In making deductions on this basis, the government is, in effect, borrowing on its ability to collect. A private insurance company would have to charge several times the government rate to issue the same guarantees. For, once having charged, the companies may not charge again in order to pay. In buying Social Security, the people are paying now for guarantees that will be redeemed by taxing them again and again and again.

This is the economics of postponement. Its appeal is founded on the apparent evasion of a certainty that cannot permanently be ignored — which is that, economically, nothing is for nothing and everything is paid for sometime by someone. The someone is you.

Kreuttner

"MORALLY REPUGNANT"

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Letter from London

F. A. VOIGT

Askance and Strangely

The British Labor Party has lately issued an official statement of its views on liberty (*Personal Freedom, Labour's Policy for the Individual and Society*). The anonymous authors claim that the party has done much and will continue to do much for liberty.

When it was founded, in 1900, the party was not Socialist, although many of its leading members were. It became a Socialist Party between wars. It remains officially Socialist, committed to the task of transforming the present order into a Socialist order, and it is as Socialists that the authors of the statement deal with their subject on behalf of their party. They attack nothing, however inimical to liberty, that would impede their own advance to power.

Like the Fascists, the National Socialists and the Communists, in the days of their advance to power, the Socialists, while professing to desire liberty for all, want one liberty above all — liberty for themselves, liberty to impose themselves on society, liberty to establish a despotism to transform society, a depotism that is to be permanent because society, having been transformed, is to remain transformed.

They have to show at least some outward concern for liberty. If they did not, they would fail to attract enough middle-class voters to win elections. But that they are inwardly concerned with liberty only as far as it will serve their own advancement, is made evident by their silence on the growing restrictions on liberty within the trade-union movement.

The authors of the statement say no word about the restrictive practice in the unions that prevents a man from working as hard as he is able and eager to work, no word about the exclusion of foreign labor. Italian workers are employed in Germany, Belguim and other countries and work extremely well, but despite the urgent need for them in Great Britain and despite much pleading on the part of the British Government, the British trade unions refuse to have them in the mines and factories, although British Socialists are fervent in extolling the ideal of international brotherhood.

There is not one word about the practice known as "sending to Coventry." This penalty is inflicted by a union in a factory or workshop on a man belonging to another union who refuses (and is entirely within his rights) to take part in an unofficial strike. It is comparable with Chinese "brainwashing" in its cruelty. For a certain time — it may be a whole year —none of his fellow workers will talk to him. The most recent victim of this penalty was the engine driver, Heginbotham. He committed suicide last April.

Although British Socialists profess to deplore the methods of the Russian Communist Party, the authors of the statement have nothing to say about the methods of the Communists in Great Britain.

The British Communist Party has a minute membership — a little over 30,000 — and does not command enough votes to secure one seat in Parliament. But the Party holds the three key positions in the great Electrical Trades Union—the positions of president, secretary, and assistant secretary. Communists dominate the foundry workers, the South Wales and Scottish miners, and numerous smaller unions. They have come very near to dominating the Amalgamated Engineering Union, which has a membership of nearly a million. They are as powerful at "low level" as at "high level" — among the shop stewards and local trade union officials, and in the pits and factories. They exercise a constant pressure "from below." Many unions blindly follow the "party line."

The authors of the statement simply ignore the weight of evidence that has been brought by competent economists against state planning everywhere. The most recent warning in this respect comes from Professor Lachmann, in a book (*Capital and its Structure*) just published by the London School of Economics:

> The capital structure is ever changing. Every day the nework of plans is torn, every day it is mended anew. Plans have to be revised, new capital combinations are formed, and old combinations disintegrate. Without the often painful pressure of the forces of change, there would be no progress in the economy; without the steady action of the entrepreneurs in specifying the uses of capital and modifying such decisions, as the forces of change unfold, a civilized economy could not survive at all.

Realities of the kind recognized by Professor Lachmann and by every competent economist, manager, and businessman, simply do not exist for the authors of the statement issued by the British Labor Party (at least, there is no hint of them in the statement). And that an economy ought to be "civilized" would not even occur to them — unless they identify civilization with Socialism, which they are quite capable of doing.

They never tell us what they mean by liberty in a Socialist context. They speak of "personal freedom" in the "increasingly collectivist society" for which Socialists are striving, and appear to promise some form of freedom hitherto unknown, while leaving us to guess what it could possibly be. They "recognize and strive for those 'liberal' freedoms usually called civil liberties" but they also "recognize and strive for "those freedoms that can only exist in a classless society."

It is permissible to conclude that these "freedoms" of the "classless society" are a fiction specially concoted to assuage the distrust of all who cherish liberty—distrust engendered by the despotic mentality of the Socialists, by their superciliousness and their total lack of humility, by their animosity against all rank, distinction and superiority, by their incessant incitements to hatred and envy, and by their clear intention to reduce the whole of society to one dead level and to keep it for ever at that dead level under the unrelenting pressure of a despotism to be exercised by themselves alone.

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The Liberal Line...

WILLMOORE KENDALL

Dreams of Togetherness

In a typical fortnight the *Reporter,* current *locus classicus* for the Liberal line, did the following:

—Welcomed postponement of Prime Minister Nehru's visit to America, on the grounds that "only people who can give him a certificate of excellent health" should see the President.

—Had a go at Alfred Kohlberg and those handkerchiefs the Treasury Department won't give him an import license for; pretended to believe that Mr. Kohlberg would *not* be importing merchandise from Red China; called Kohlberg "the China Lobby himself"; did not, unlike the *New Republic,* misquote Kohlberg's lawyer; did not get the number of handkerchiefs wrong; tried to prejudice the matter by a wee small smear—with alleged facts dating back to 1928 and 1943.

—Patted itself on its richly-draped back for having anticipated, in its April 19, 1956 issue, General Gavin's estimate ("hundreds of millions") of the death-toll in case of an all-out atomic attack on Russia; purred because "the full horror of the facts is becoming clear"; concluded, in a record-smashing long-distance non-sequitur, that the facts being what they are, "Mr. Dulles' description of neutralism as 'immoral and shortsighted,' is something worse than obtuse"; pled for an "aroused world opinion" that will recognize it is "no longer a question of controls but of conscience"; seemed to be saying that it would like a sure-enough appeaser as Secretary of State.

—Drew on its knowledge of world literature for an analogy to fit what happened to Khrushchev & Co. at Poznan; came up, brightly, with the fable about the Sorcerer's Apprentice.

—Noted that Senators Eastland and McCarthy have described the present Supreme Court as "insolent," "willful," "irresponsible," and "pro-Communist"; hazarded, sneeringly, the guesses a) that the Court won't much mind, and b) that its nine members can always appeal for justice to the House Un-American Activities Committee because — another impressive non-sequitur—Warren stands in well "with an influential former member" of the Committee, Mr. Nixon.

—Dissociated itself once and for all from those "right-wing Republicans," as also those "Democrats in search of a personality," who "scoff at the correspondence between the President and the Soviet leaders"; noted approvingly Premier Bulganin's comment, in a letter to Mr. Eisenhower, that "time is running short"; deplored the fact that illness has prevented Mr. Eisenhower from resuming "his Geneva role"; mused, apparently in all seriousness, that "the plight of our country would not be half so dire" had the Russian leaders "had a real correspondent" answering their letters.

—Returned to its favorite propaganda theme, namely, that the task of the United States vis-à-vis the outside world is—and was intended to be by the Fathers—that of "commonwealth building"; pushed the Liberal line into new territory by arguing the theme, this time, on the grounds that the Russians, unlike us, just *might* pull the trigger and upset the atomic stalemate; and that, in any case, "new technological inventions may both increase the premium and diminish the risk" (thus making the Russians, but not of course us, *more* likely to pull the trigger).

—Dangled before its readers the awful thought that if *we* don't get busy—"fast"— and build that commonwealth, the USSR will do us in by pretending to build it: "They have stolen the commonwealth idea from us and—to judge by results—they are getting away with it"; by recasting the Stalinist empire into "what purports to be a commonwealth of sovereign, independent nations . . . the Soviet leaders have immeasurably increased the appeal of Communism [as indeed they have]."

—Revealed its conclusions about recent developments in the USSR: "It is astonishing to see what has been achieved simply by replacing a dead dictator with three or four live ones." And: "It is possible that their external expansion may be accompanied by a relaxation of internal tyranny. . . . Perhaps the Russians and the satellite peoples have already absorbed under Stalin all the tyranny human flesh can bear."

—Decided, on second thought, that the end of the "latest Russian adventure" depends not on the Russians and the satellite peoples but on *us;* decided, also, that "how we face our responsibility [*ut infra*]" will determine whether *we* remain free.

—Permitted itself a few moments of profundity about the "idea of commonwealth building": we Anglo-Saxons have no "sacred right" to monopolize it; nevertheless it does *belong* to us; we have developed "extraordinary skill" at putting it into practice; the Russians merely *imitate* it, don't really *understand* it, convert it into a "plain phony."

—Finally got around to the point, which turned out to be one part one-worldism, one part coexistence, one part increased foreign aid: "This modern world of ours cries for integration, for gradual and steady reduction in the still appalling discrepancy between the standard of living in the underdeveloped countries and that in the most industrialized." And: "This must lead us to a gradual, phased cooperation with our antagonist — a competitive cooperation both to reduce the threat of war and to develop the economies of the underprivileged nations . . . This competition [wherefore 'competitive cooperation' equals both 'cooperation' and 'competition'] is a tough game . . ."

—Admitted all this won't be easy: because of "the nature and methods of our antagonist [wherefore antagonist equals cooperator]," it will be hard "to set up the rules of competition and keep them enforced."

—Frightened this columnist out of his wits by being candid about the price of failure: "the broadest commonwealth of them all, the United Nations, would turn into [!] a bedlam of disunited, runaway nationalism—just a name for chaos"; left him pretty sure what name to put to the state of affairs in Editor Ascoli's head.

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THE LAW OF THE LAND

C. DICKERMAN WILLIAMS

The Supreme Court on Security

In the opinion of this one, commentators generally have greatly overstated the importance of the Supreme Court's decision in Cole *v.* Young, the case respecting the applicability of the Act of August 25, 1950 to non-sensitive jobs. And they have largely overlooked the highly important five-to-four decision of the Court handed down the same day (Jay *v.* Boyd) that in a matter of privilege as distinguished from right, the government may use confidential information at its discretion.

About all that Cole *v.* Young comes down to is this: A federal employee who 1) is entitled to the benefits of the Veterans Preference Act of 1944, *i. e.,* is a veteran, 2) is employed in an agency *other* than the Department of Justice, the National Advisory Committee for Aeronautics, the National Security Resources Board, the Atomic Energy Commission and the Coast Guard, and 3) is engaged in work which the agency head has not determined to affect national security, has the right to appeal to the Civil Service Commission from a dismissal by his agency head on security grounds. That is, the Act of August 25, 1950, which makes the decision of the agency head final in cases within its scope, does not apply to such employees. The Cole case has been thought by some also to raise a substantial question as to the right of an agency head to suspend an employee prior to dismissal, but that issue was not before the Court.

Having been for some time chief legal counsel to a Government Department, I cannot believe that this decision will substantially impair the government's security system. The Civil Service Commission is most unlikely to overrule an agency head in security matters. It is true that in the early days of President Truman's Loyalty Order, the Loyalty Review Board of the Civil Service Commission reversed several dismissals, notably that of William Remington. But, to be fair, the evidence in the Remington loyalty hearing was relatively superficial; the evidence later put before the jury which convicted him was far more detailed and cogent. In the later days of the Truman Administration the Commission's Review Board was quite strict. The Board reversed the clearances which the Department of State had given Service and Vincent; and in the Peters case reversed a clearance by the Department of Health, Education and Welfare. The Truman Review Board was abolished by President Eisenhower, but I have no reason to think that a new Board, or the Commission itself, would be unduly lenient.

The Cole decision has also directed public attention to the power of summary suspension in security cases. The Act of August 25, 1950 is sometimes referred to as the Summary Suspension Act, and explicitly confers that power in security cases. Yet the courts have repeatedly held not only that agencies have inherent power to suspend employees, but also that an employee wrongfully suspended, albeit on reasonable grounds, has no legal right to recover his salary for the period between suspension and reinstatement. It is, however, usual to pay compensation lost under such circumstances.

In their decisions this year in Communist and security cases I have in general, if not invariably, agreed with Justices Reed and Minton and also, excepting for the Slochower case, with Justice Clark. Although in the Cole case I think there is force to their interpretation of the statute, I cannot go along with their statement that the Act of August 25, 1950 is "the most effective weapon against subversive activity available to the Government." It is undoubtedly *an* effective weapon and will continue to be, but the most effective weapon is the inherent power of the President and his agency heads over the employees of the Executive Branch. That the limitation on that power provided by the Veterans Preference Act of 1944, *i. e.,* the right of appeal to the Civil Service Commission, remains in effect as to so-called "non-sensitive" jobs should not seriously hamper security administration.

The decision that should comfort those seriously concerned with Communist infiltration is Jay *v.* Boyd. The question was whether the immigration authorities could use confidential information in considering the suspension of the deportation of an alien. The authorities had ruled that, apart from such information, the alien was qualified for suspension, but had denied suspension on the basis of confidential information. The nature of this information was not revealed on the ground that disclosure would be "prejudicial to the public interest, safety, or security." Presumably it related to the alien's Communist associations, as concededly the alien had been a Communist at one time. The four judges who have shown themselves to be what Professor Hook calls "ritualistic liberals," *viz.,* Chief Justice Warren and Justices Black, Frankfurter and Douglas, held that the alien was entitled to know what this information was and to confrontation by the witnesses who gave it. The five remaining judges, *viz.,* Justices Reed, Burton, Minton, Clark and Harlan, upheld the government. The majority did not attempt to delimit the area in which confidential information may be used. Although by implication its use would appear to have been held by the Court to be permissible in all matters of administrative discretion, we must await further decisions to discover how far the principle will apply.

The use of undisclosed information has its dangers, of course. It would be a happy world if we could safely forbid its use. But in the ordinary affairs of life everyone acts on information satisfactory to himself, and without necessarily revealing his sources. The Communist conspiracy being what it is, it would be catastrophic to deny that right to government officials in matters of administrative discretion. It is alarming to think that four Justices of the Supreme Court were willing to do so, but there is comfort in the affirmation of the right by a majority of the Court.

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From the Academy

RUSSELL KIRK

Encyclopedias

One of the principal instruments of education remains the encyclopedia, even though encyclopedia-distributing in America is a pressure-sales affair and most sets are sold to confused parents on the pretext that their children will want to study them. (The children ordinarily don't, because the parents themselves never open the volumes once they have made the down-payment.) As with most other aspects of education in this country, we have mass-produced and mass-distributed with slight attention to quality. Some of our encyclopedias are mere shams, so much sawdust.

The famous *Britannica* no longer is published in Britain, of course; it passed into the hands of Sears, Roebuck in this country, and then into those (principally) of Mr. William Benton; it is supervised, at least nominally, by Mr. Robert Hutchins. The current edition of the *Britannica* is not up to the standard of earlier editions, and needs much revision.

Nearly all the encyclopedias follow the pattern of the *Britannica,* which was first published in 1773. The *Britannica,* soon abandoning the ambition of the French Encyclopedia to be a systematic examination of human knowledge, adopted the alphabetical principle of arranging its articles and became Utilitarian in method, simply treating "useful facts" as a kind of levelling democracy of the intellect, without order or system except the arbitrary progression fom A to Z.

Both Coleridge and Newman saw the faults of this method, and endeavored to examine knowledge according to some coherent scheme; Coleridge, indeed edited the *Encyclopedia Metropolitana* as an exposition of a harmonious body of knowledge. But the Benthamite scheme of the *Britannica* has triumphed, generally; the *Oxford Children's Encyclopedia* is one of the few surviving exceptions. Mr. Gerald Heard, I am told, is thinking of editing a series of volumes intended to give some coherence, once more, to the knowledge that is riven asunder by treatment as isolated subjects or collections of facts—though he does not call his project an encyclopedia.

The encyclopedia as a genuine instrument for the preservation and advancement of knowledge has suffered greatly from its nineteenth-century defection to Utilitarianism. None of the American encyclopedias (and some encyclopedias, by the way, now are sold volume by volume through chain grocery-stores) is exempt from this fundamental defect.

Within these limitations of system, *Collier's Encyclopedia* has shown considerable improvement in recent years. This, in large part, is the work of its editor-in-chief, Mr. W. T. Couch, one of the most talented scholarly editors in the country. *Collier's* (with which is associated the *Century Dictionary,* which I find preferable to *Webster's* or the abridged *Oxford*) has been paying some intelligent attention to philosophical and social topics much neglected in the encyclopedia-revisions of this century, and shows signs of a reasoned endeavor to make an encyclopedia once more a work to which one can turn for systematic enlightenment.

This is a courageous and really valuable undertaking. We could also use a revision of the *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*—or a competitor thereto; for that work, like nearly all the current editions of encyclopedias, was written chiefly during a period when rationalism, doctrinaire liberalism, and instrumentalist views were dominant.

Most of the principal encyclopedias publish Year Books which bring their subscribers' sets up to date and treat at some length the chief events and interests of each year. In recent years, I have found the *American Year Book* and *Collier's Year Book* the more lively of these. Mr. Couch and his colleagues have been at work putting new vigor into *Collier's Year Book* for the past three issues. The 1956 *Collier's* (covering the year 1955) was published this spring, and anyone who takes the trouble to read some of the longer articles will realize that great pains and sincerity go into the preparation of a volume which many of its recipients probably never open. These Year Books almost never are reviewed in the press; I think they ought to be.

Some of the articles in the new *Collier's Year Book* are remarkably perceptive and interesting. In the treatment of subjects which at present are hotly controversial, *Collier's* often employs the method of debate or discussion between two contributors—probably the best approach to impartiality that can be undertaken. The new *Collier's* also includes feature articles on unusual subjects, by contributors with special knowledge.

I commend to anyone's attention, for instance, the long report on the White House Conference on Education in *Collier's,* which is followed by a debate on federal aid to education between Mr. Belmont Farley, director of press relations for the National Education Association, and Mr. James Kilpatrick, editor of the Richmond *News-Leader.*

The article on "Brainwashing" by Professor Helmut Schoeck is a good piece of work. Mr. John Abbot Clark's article on American literature is one of the wittiest and most penetrating pieces of annual criticism to appear anywhere. Dr. William S. Stokes of the University of Wisconsin has a lengthy and unusual piece of first-hand observation, "Impressions of South America." Dean R. A. Nisbet's article on sociology is well executed. "National Self-Determination" is examined by Mr. George B. de Huszar. Fluoridation of water is the subject of another debate. Your servant contributes an article on conservatism. *The Federalist,* No. 10, is reprinted because of its pertinence to the political controversies of our day.

Encyclopedias and yearbooks ought to be genuinely educational instruments, not rackets, dust-collectors, or simple compilations of almost meaningless statistics. It is heartening to see the true educational function of such a publication apprehended at Crowell-Collier Company.

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ARTS and MANNERS

WILLIAM S. SCHLAMM

To Arthur Miller, as a Wedding Present

Royal marriages are a legitimate democratic concern and so — America being more fascinated by royalty than any other democracy known to ethnologists — the recent interest in Miss Monroe's match with Mr. Miller was a bit vulgar but entirely proper. By this I do not mean to say that the young lady belongs to our ruling class. She has, no doubt, launched many a covetous dream, but she has not (as is the irreducible function of royalty) set patterns of social behavior. Mr. Miller has. He is what amounts in America to an Archduke or at least a Prince — one of the select dignitaries of a formalized society, an incarnation of the standards by which it lives. For Mr. Miller arbitrates the spiritual standards of our nation.

On this occasion (though in an aside), I'd like to advance a constructive proposal. America, I think, should create a titled class. This would cleanse the scene of a typical restlessness which is generated by TV personalities, millionaires, publishers, and their wives, who constantly crave new proof that they are still being considered important. Now if they only knew for sure that they *have* arrived they would stop making these noises. And the only way to know this, beyond any doubt, is to be knighted or earled or duked or whatever the operating verb may be.

But we have a pretty stratified hierarchy even without titles, and Mr. Miller is very high up. He got where he is today by the most effective means of fast social advancement discovered in recent times — by the irrelevant social protest. In remarkably few years he has parlayed a minor talent, and a burning sense for irrelevancies, into a major reputation. Descended from a poor but dishonest line of playwrights, Mr. Miller learned early in life that the trick lies in saying exactly what the mighty audience loves to hear — but saying it with the defiance of a persecuted rebel.

This may be the great cultural scandal of our era: The advocates of the prevailing order are costumed as dissenters. The successful artist, in particular, assumes the posture of opposition while he cashes in on the fact that he merely articulates the ruling prejudice.

To some extent, this simulated rebellion is unavoidable. In addition to the divine spark, art is ignited by a talented person's friction with his environment. The artist *needs* the defiant posture — certainly in our modern world from which reverence (the other great motor of creativeness) has vanished.

It is precisely at this point that the contemporary artist traps himself in an ironical contortion. All dressed up for a battle, he has none to fight. And so he stabs himself. For our society has moved in the exact direction of the modern artist's philosophical prejudices.

A few generations ago, the artist — in his need for rebellion — aligned himself with "the masses," "the people," "the common man," or whatever the daring phrase was at a given moment. Since then, each artist's declaration of esthetic war has been directed, not so much against the reigning vulgarity, as against the reigning "interests" of the day. He could depend on a crude but, on the whole, workable compass: he would look at the day's social masters — and turn exactly the other way.

What, to my mind, accounts for the crushing sameness and the imitative emptiness of modern stage and literature is the fact that the contemporary artist no longer knows how to read that compass. For who are today's social masters? The masses. It is *their* taste that prevails, *their* preference that matters, *their* vulgarity that defaces civilization. And this the Arthur Millers refuse (or are constitutionally unable) to recognize.

To move ahead in his art's esthetic cosmos, Mr. Miller would have to correct, rather radically, his position in political society. For the artist's compass now points *away* from the multitude, the statistical average, the satiated mass-man. But the Arthur Millers are hopelessly stuck with the vernacular of "social protest" — *hopelessly*, I say, because that "social protest" is very sweet and appreciated music in the ears of a smug society that is tickled by the idea of an utterly irrelevant revolution.

And the utterly irrelevant revolution is what Mr. Miller's dramas execute, again and again and again. One time it's a young man's rebellion against his monstrous father's blood profits (*All My Sons*)—as if there were anybody left in our society to defend blood profits! Another time it's violent distress over a jerk's extinction as man (*Death of a Salesman*) — as if anybody in our society had the guts to insist that extinction is what a jerk deserves! A third time it's a protest against "witch-hunting" (*The Crucible*) — as if anybody important in our society had enough sense to contend that witches *ought* to be hunted!

Each time it's the kind of "social protest" that pleases the powers-that-be and guarantees box-office pleasures to the author. Everything in Mr. Miller that makes him justifiably think he is an artist wants him to *defy* the trend — the trend toward the deification of that crude creature, "the common man." But his profitable misreading of the world he lives in makes him swim *with* the current. Throwing his thunderbolts against the hunted minority of his day, Mr. Miller simulates a Jovian rebel; while, of course, he is merely a kept courtier of the prevailing order.

At the moment, however, he is in an especially enviable position — not so much because of his private bliss as because of possible prosecution for contempt of Congress. At last he can impress himself as a well-heeled but crucified revolutionary. What peace of mind!

But I'm afraid it won't last. Even if Congress and the courts were bold enough to put Miss Monroe's bridegroom in jail for a few months, Mr. Miller would soon realize that a Liberal only profits from being contemptuous of Congress. His next play, I dare say, would be the most howling success yet. For whatever the Liberal touches in our society turns to gold. And like Midas himself, he will have to wait for superior intervention to save him from this curse.

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BOOKS IN REVIEW

Case Dismissed

WILLMOORE KENDALL

Can a case be made for the Eisenhower Administration? Does it add up to *some* kind of sense? Mr. Arthur Larson (*A Republican Looks at His Party*: Harper's $2.75) thinks a case can be made out and has a go at it. And he not only makes out the best case anyone is likely to make out for it, he makes out a good case, a convincing case, and, insofar as it deals with Mr. Eisenhower's critics on the Left, a devastating case. But good though it is, and convincing though it is, it fails, and fails the more spectacularly *because* it is good, and convincing.

Though it matches in title and format Dean Acheson's *A Democrat Looks at His Party,* Mr. Larson's book should not be confused with that (I quote Senator McCarthy) "minor failure" on the part of America's "worst Secretary of State." Mr. Acheson's book was illiterate, with that distinctive kind of illiteracy that is achieved only by able lawyers. Mr. Larson, though also a lawyer, writes a lucid, nuanced prose which says what he means it to say, and, on occasion, sparkles.

Mr. Acheson's book was projected on just the level of comprehension and respect for—and identification with—the traditions and institutions of American politics that one might expect from one of those Englishmen whose dress he imitates. Mr. Larson's book reflects on every page its author's roots in the American past, his grasp of the character and meaning of our political institutions, *including* our peculiar party system, and, best of all, his reverence toward them.

Mr. Larson's book is not, however, a book about the Republican Party. It is, rather, a book about what he calls the "New Republicanism." This, if I understand him correctly, is his shorthand for Eisenhower Republicanism, which in turn is shorthand for certain principles Mr. Eisenhower has enunciated at one juncture or another in his regrettably brief political career, and for his Administration's record of performance on those principles.

The principles, let me emphasize, are principles that no Right-winger can take exception to. The New Republicanism holds that concentrated power is an "evil and dangerous thing," and that this is why the Framers wisely divided power between state and federal levels. It holds that the "proved motive force of our economy" is free private enterprise. It has no quarrel with Big Business. It recognizes the "fundamental rightness, for a vast, rich country like ours," of "incentives for investment, effort, and ingenuity." It believes that "top priority should be given to increasing the total product and second priority to the question of sharing." It will have no truck with the notion that the federal government "must inevitably take over more and more of the financing of such things as education and health and roads." And it insists that "the way to have the country prosper is to stop inflation, check government spending, balance the budget, maintain and increase consumer purchasing power, [and] reduce government competition and interference to a minimum . . ."

The principles, I say, are unexceptionable, and, in general, I myself would be inclined not to quarrel with Mr. Larson on the level of principle, even concerning the fashion in which New Republicanism sort of takes these principles back before even it has properly got them out of its mouth. For it does take them back; or, if you prefer to put it so, it has for each such principle at least one further principle that seems, at best, to militate in a slightly different direction. For instance, if there is "something that needs to be done," and if "it is the sort of thing that only the federal government can do," then clearly the New Republicanism is *for* the federal government's doing it. (It being some division, not a particular division, of power between the states and the federal government that we must preserve.) And then while free private enterprise should be encouraged and released, there must be "just enough government activity" "to avoid extreme tendencies in the business cycle, to protect the public against harmful practices, and to ensure adequate protections against the human hazards of a risk economy." Again: "If a particular job has to be done, in the public interest, and private enterprise cannot do it, then by default it is proper for the federal government to act." Still again: "where labor is unorganized the government must step in with minimum wage laws and other labor standard legislation," etc.

I know, I know: one *could* take this second lot of principles and turn America into an egalitarian, New-Fair-Square-Deal inferno, with all power concentrated in Washington, and the federal government "responsible" for everything. But I refuse still to quarrel with Arthur Larson on the level of principle — though he's a good deal readier than my-type Republicans to reach for that second set of principles, and so justify particular interventions and concentrations of power. I would not quarrel with him on applications either. And this is why:

1. Arthur Larson and, I suppose, the New Republicans in general, really do believe in that first set of principles. They don't consciously seek out opportunities for calling into play the second set, though they do yield too

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quickly to the temptation to do so. Larson, at least, is no egalitarian, no leveller. But his successor, if you don't settle for him, might be; and Mr. Larson is anxious to put that across.

2. In many ways the Administration has stuck to its principles; and if the nation's level of prosperity continues to rise, as it has during the Administration's three years in office, it will, I believe, be able to keep on doing so. But Mr. Larson has bet — as he I think clearly realizes — on the proposition that, thanks to Mr. Keynes, "we" now know how to manage basically free-enterprise economy, and provide for both relatively full employment and continued expansion. This, I would remind him, remains to be seen; and the professional economists I know, even those who follow Keynes, have some doubts on the matter that ought to worry Mr. Larson more than they seem to. It is at this point that I should want to question Mr. Larson very closely: Suppose the pie stopped growing; suppose you *couldn't* give everybody everything he asked for; what set of principles would you reach for then? And I fear, for all my admiration for Mr. Larson, that I know New Republicanism's answer; and I, as an Old Republican, should not approve of it.

3. Anyhow, for those of us who believe the United States — and the world — are on the threshhold of catastrophe, none of that really matters. Mr. Larson has his own reasons, which he states, for avoiding the whole area of foreign policy. I confess to him as an old friend — he was the first literate Republican I met when I emerged from Rebel territory — that I believe he had a reason for keeping out of foreign policy that he didn't state, namely, that in that area *no* case can be made out for the Eisenhower Administration, and that therefore if what one is out to do is make a case for the Administration, one rules out foreign policy, and to make it look shrewd, one rules it out on "methodological" grounds.

In a word: I think the Administration — most especially by resisting many of the interventions urged on it by the socialists — has played a positive role in inducing a material prosperity without precedent in history. I welcome the prosperity, and I like Mr. Larson's reasons (which I wish I could go into) for valuing it. In fact, I am prepared to believe, having read his book, that when the Communist glacier finally overtakes us, it will find the best-fed, best-clothed, best-amused, best-doctored, best-housed, best-travelled population in the whole history of mankind, with each man-jack of us insured against every kind of risk you can possibly insure against, and each man-jack of us proud to be a New Republican.

I'm not only prepared to believe it. It is what I've been afraid of for a long time.

Good Word for Evil

Tender Victory, by Taylor Caldwell. 422 pp. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company. $3.95

Very early in her new novel, Miss Caldwell's hero, a young minister, puts a sure finger on the inflamed tissue that covers our century's most comprehensive malaise:

"It isn't fashionable, any longer, to believe in Satan. . . . After all, we're civilized, aren't we? Lucifer is only a symbol, our best theologians say . . . He is the bogeyman of the Dark Ages . . . he hasn't any reality at all, and he can be abolished with a few soothing sessions on a psychiatrist's couch, or a series of shock treatments. . . ."

Miss Caldwell's novel, in other words, is an *enlisted book;* a tract; a frank, spirited indictment of the most malignant folly of what we presumptuously call Modern Times. Evil, which the Dark Ages apprehended very acutely, and had names for, and strategies against, is something we now regard as old-fashioned. It always seems grotesque to me that we can look back with contempt and pity on other centuries for their particular limitations and ignorances, at the same time that we have so completely fenced ourselves off from everything but those pre-tested, vacuum-packed, brand-name versions of Reality that disallow anything so unpleasant and inexplicable in human nature as the deliberately malicious act. Was an epoch ever so blinded by its own "enlightenment"?

Because I wholly agree with Miss Caldwell's fundaments, and because I respect her courage in writing out of them, I wish she had not been tempted to use so many stock fictional ingredients that make me hear an organ in the background, and think of cake flour, laundry soap, and three o'clock in the afternoon. The selfless, quixotic, handsome young minister; a run-down parish in a small Pennsylvania town, the Good Guardian disguised as a cantankerous doctor; Satan himself gotten up as a newspaper tycoon whose beautiful daughter falls in love with guess-who; mob violence; a mine disaster; the minister's house burned down on Christmas Eve; etc.

I should not raise this issue at all if there had not been at least one scene —in which the local priest holds up a remorseless mirror to the embittered self-pity of the hero—which assures me that Miss Caldwell can play more instruments than the organ.

Just as it stands, though, *Tender Victory* ought to reach a lot of readers all over America on whom, this A.D. 1956, the slick, standardized presumptions of Prog-Culture are only beginning to make inroads. May it make them ask themselves plenty of discomfiting questions! ROBERT PHELPS

Which Ancestors?

Beyond the Dreams of Avarice, by Russell Kirk. 339 pp. Chicago: Henry Regnery Company. $4.50

Russell Kirk's importance in the conservative renascence became evident with the publication of his *The Conservative Mind.* This brilliant history of conservative thought reminded the public that not all profound thinking veers to the left, and that past ages at least have seen no essential conflict between conservatism and benevolence. Since then Mr. Kirk has produced a steady stream of articles and reviews testing by the touchstone of his conservatism a wide variety of men, movements and institutions. The present work brings these together.

What is the touchstone that he applies? It consists principally of a respect for the wisdom of our ancestors and a veneration of tradition. Using these as his ultimate appeals, he attacks incessantly the spirit of innovation, politics based upon abstractions, what he well terms the "defecated liberalism" of our day, and that program for diminishing the mind which is called "progressive education." The

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objects of attack are certainly chosen with sound instinct, and no one is more gratified than I by his effort to make the public aware that the past contains some achievements superior to the present, and that presentism can never be a measuring rod where values are concerned. It is because I want this awareness to be wider and more irresistible that I mention a few difficulties which seem to be showing up.

The danger in erecting the wisdom of our ancestors as the standard is that it invites the question "Which ancestors?" After all, Adam was our ancestor, and so were many who have spoken radically, irresponsibly, or superficially. If we add the voices of our ancestors together, we get the same sort of melée of opinion that fills the air today, and it may be questioned whether the wiser voices would not be drowned out by others. If we have an ancestral legacy of wisdom, we have also an ancestral legacy of folly, and the ground for choosing between them is still to seek.

Essentially the same objection applies to a general embrace of tradition, plus one further difficulty. Traditions grow up insensibly and, as it were, vegetatively; they are adaptations and include strong emotional preferences. These facts in themselves may be good, yet they certainly create problems when traditions come into conflict and have to be reconciled. Since they are not rational creations, they are not susceptible to rational adjustment unless one is willing to isolate intellectually their elements of value and of truth. Yet this is a process disrespectful of tradition in the sense that it transcends tradition and looks for some higher guide. The only way a traditionalist can object to this is by saying that tradition expresses something not in the arguable realm, which is itself a grave commitment.

I am glad to say that I agree with practically every position on issues that Mr. Kirk takes in this wide-ranging collection of essays. I only wish to see his learning and persuasive rhetoric reinforced by a different kind of artillery — a kind that will prevent the conservative from being at a disadvantage in armaments. I do not want to see the conservative reduced entirely to arguments based on authority. Actually, he has on his side some of the greatest masters of theory, which is why the Liberal usually looks silly when, with the use of their methods, he is pushed back to his primary assumptions.

Distinctions in terms of principle are especially needful at a time like this, when quite preposterous persons are seeking to apply the name "conservative" to themselves, and in some cases are getting away with it.

RICHARD M. WEAVER

Brief Mention

The Stories of Liam O'Flaherty. 419 pp. New York: The Devin-Adair Co. $5.00

Liam O'Flaherty is probably best known for a novel called *The Informer*, which John Ford made into a powerful film some twenty years ago. Readers may therefore associate him with political struggle, the Irish Civil War, and the haunted psychology of revolutionaries.

But the heart of his work has been elsewhere. As these forty-two stories make clear, it is the closed, harsh, very unrevolutionary world of the northern Irish peasants and their fixed relation to the earth, the seasons, the Church and each other, that has moved O'Flaherty the most.

Writing with the rhythm and ritual of a speaking voice—and an audibly Irish one — he tells us brief, stoic tales about the same Aran Islanders that Synge put into his plays. But Synge's playboy of the western world was refracted through an incisively personal vision, which O'Flaherty lacks. Hence his peasants and their struggles remain generalized, commonplace, typical. And though we may respect the typical as true, we only remember, and shudder at, the unique. R. B.

From Witchcraft to Antisepsis: A Study in Antithesis, by Douglas Guthrie, M.D. 53 pp. Lawrence, Kansas: University of Kansas Press. $1.50.

The second and better of these lectures gives a lucid account of the career of Joseph Lister, the physician who began the systematic use of antiseptics. The first is a discussion of witchcraft in the late Middle Ages and the Renaissance. Even in so brief a treatment of an extremely complex subject the lecturer, in my opinion, would have done well to point out 1) that there were many indubitably authentic cases of witchcraft so long as that word was legally used to include such practices as poisoning and abortion, and 2) many of the persons condemned for witchcraft really had attempted to use supernatural agencies to effect criminal purposes. They were, so to speak, guilty of assault with intent to kill, although their credulity had led them to select a weapon that was ineffectual. This credulity, of course, was no greater than that which is now excited by the pseudo-sciences that replace sorcery in our day. As Dr. Guthrie observes, "civilization cannot kill witchcraft; it merely causes it to assume new forms." For details, see the catalogue of any large university. R. P. O.

The Girl From Rome (Bettina Colonna), by Michel Durafour. Translated by Michael Legat. 384 pp. New York: Popular Library. 35¢

This novel, based on the career of the celebrated Cola di Rienzo, is a pseudo-historical pastiche strongly flavored, as is now customary, with sadistic and erotic passages that will seem daring to persons who have never read *Justine* or the *Satira Sotadica*. The critical reader will find a puzzle on almost every page; he will wonder, for example, how it was possible for Italians in the year 1347 to enjoy such imported luxuries as tobacco from Virginia, syphilis from Mexico, and Existentialism from the *rive gauche*. R.P.O.

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To the Editor

Switch in Soviet Line

In a single page of your issue of July 11, Frank S. Meyer seems to me to have said all that really matters about the Soviet situation and the West. This badly needed doing. For the turn in the Communist general line, capped by the outbreaks in Poznan and elsewhere, and the wondrous towers of hope and whimsy that are being run up thereon, threaten to unsettle more wits than Hegel is said to have done.

Mr. Meyer's particular insight, it seems to me, is that the current switch in the general line equates, not with Stalin's tactical embrace of the Nazis in 1939, but with the U.S. Communist Party's earlier, much deeper-going adjustment to the fact that the world revolution was not going to happen tomorrow, that for an unforeseeable period the USSR would have to go it alone in the world. It is the reversal of the historical situation, which, as Mr. Meyer notes, the turn in the general line reflects and seeks to exploit.

So, Frank Meyer brings us back to reality in the simplest terms. Since reality, especially about Communist matters, seems to be widely offensive to the West, he may get little thanks for his effort. This is to make sure he gets somebody's.

Westminster, Md. WHITTAKER CHAMBERS

Mr. Farr's Article

Already I observe a decided journalistic growth and expansion in NATIONAL REVIEW. I actually thrilled at the article "Murrow: Poet of Mankind" by Finis Farr, in the July 11 issue. . . . I had literally prayed . . . that someone would uncover that "intellectual" fake, and others like him. . . .

Thank God, we have men like . . . Mr. Farr . . . who have the wisdom, and courage, and gift, to help awaken the world from the pagan . . . mesmerism so rampant throughout the world.

Prescott, Ariz. S. H. ROBINSON

. . . I would like to voice a more-than-casual objection to some features of Finis Farr's article on Murrow.

Speaking of the ACLU's attempt to organize a charter meeting in Indianapolis, he points out that an "open door" was secured in a Roman Catholic *Church*. This I doubt seriously. I presume he refers to an auditorium or hall. . . . However, my real objection is to his description of the Catholic priest as a "professional word-man," with "glib statements of the Liberal point of view."

Certainly his remark, that a listener "leaves [the meeting] with the conviction that somehow it was actually against *the law* to oppose the ACLU," could be construed as meaning that this priest . . . is speaking as representative of the Church's "political leanings."

I share Mr. Farr's attitude toward this "great reporter" and enjoyed his presentation. Yet I . . . hope that in future articles he keeps clear the distinction between a Catholic as a person and a Catholic as the *generalized* representative of the Church.

New York City WILLIAM J. BYMAN

Presley vs. Mozart

Mr. Schlamm's is the first voice raised against the mediocre, the obscenities, to which we of the TV public are constantly exposed. . . .

I have never seen [Elvis] Presley, but I have seen too much really of what resembles Mr. Schlamm's description. ["Arts and Manners," July 11.] As for the Mozart festival at Stratford, . . . the loss on TV for millions who will never have another opportunity for such a revelation is abysmal. . . .

New Rochelle, N.Y. EDGAR HEARTY

Bases in Iceland

. . . it is genuinely painful for me to be forced to express my extreme disapprobation of the editorial entitled "A Dream" in your issue of July 11. . . . When the percentage of troops in Iceland is as high as it is in terms of the country's population and when our government is engaged in promoting friendship with the Kremlin beast, if I were a patriotic Icelander, I think I'd like the Americans out too. When this country won't stand up to the Communists either here or abroad and brushes aside the slavery of millions of people now groaning under the Communist yoke as something of minor importance, how can anyone with any sense at all suggest that American troops stay where they are not wanted?

. . . Undistilled imperialism is the last thing that I expect to find in a magazine which so far, has had my unqualified support and on which I depend to assist me in fighting the Liberal hordes in New England.

JOHN PENNINGTON GARDINER

Brookline, Mass.

Mr. Kohlberg's Masterpiece

Of all the jobs I have seen done on the Liberals, the stunt by Alfred Kohlberg which you described in the issue of June 20 ["The Ivory Tower"] is the top masterpiece, in my opinion. Do let's have a little fun as we go along!

Madison, Wis. VERNE P. KAUB

Young Conservatives

Your magazine has done much to instill in the conservative people in our country a desire to pursue our convictions. As a recent graduate from an Ivy League college, may I bear witness that there are many of us in the younger ranks of the populace.

Pleasantville, N.Y. WALTER A. QUINN, JR.

FROM WASHINGTON STRAIGHT

(*Continued from p. 2*)

are bitterly divided, John Sherman Cooper will run for Barkley's seat in a "command performance." It took Mr. Eisenhower's personal request to induce Cooper to give up his post as Ambassador to India and enter the Senate race, but most nonpartisan observers believe he is the strongest Senatorial contender in either party. His Democratic opponent is former Governor Lawrence Weatherby (Governor A. B. "Happy" Chandler says he will give Weatherby all the support that Weatherby gave him, *i.e.*, none). A former GOP Congressman, Thurston Morton, who retired voluntarily after three terms in the House, will make the race against Democratic Senator Clements. The Republicans are considered to have better than an even chance of capturing both Senate seats.

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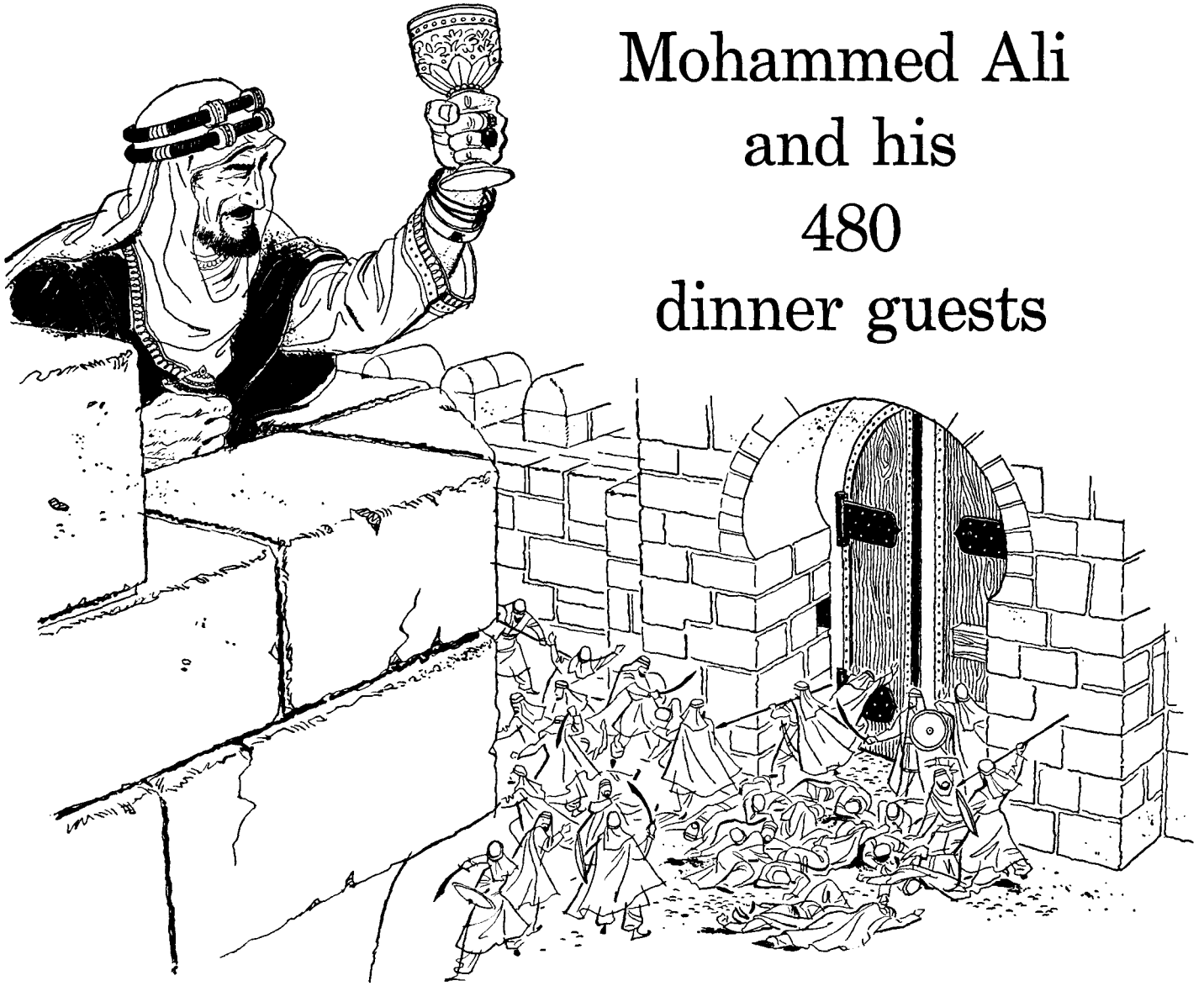
Mohammed Ali and his 480 dinner guests



WHEN Napoleon withdrew his army, the Egyptian desert seethed with warring tribes. At the head of these tribes were cunning chieftains. And the strongest and craftiest of these was Mohammed Ali.

One day Mohammed Ali invited 480 rival Marmeluke beys to his palace to witness the investiture of his son and stay for dinner. It was a move, he explained, to bring peace to the strife-torn land.

They came—all 480 of them—without their weapons and anxious to talk of peace. But as they entered the palace gate, only one of them noticed the sly smile creasing Mohammed Ali's face high up in the ramparts.

Mohammed Ali lifted his drinking cup. It was the signal. The gates slammed shut. Mohammed Ali's henchmen, brandishing sickles and scimitars, began their bloody work. Only one bey escaped with his life—one from the 480—to tell this tale of murder.

Treachery as clever, yet less obvious, goes on today. It knows no bounds when wily, selfish men conduct the affairs of the many. And one of communism's weapons is infiltration into positions of trust in our government and other organizations. In this way, communists set the trap so that the sickle can someday swing and cut its bloody swath.

One way we can combat communist treachery here in America is so simple we often take it for granted. We can keep Communists out of positions of trust simply by being in those positions of trust ourselves.

It means Americans getting into active politics, holding office, joining civic organizations, taking an interest in their churches and their schools. Defending their rights when challenged. It means getting government closer to home where we can keep an eye on it.

It means work for all of us. But it's work the communists will gladly do for us if we fail to do it ourselves.

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